

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 NEAE-00 CIAE-00  
DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00  
PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 ACDA-07 ERDA-05 OES-06 AID-05 IGA-02 OMB-01  
TRSE-00 ERDE-00 IO-13 /108 W  
-----211253Z 022827 /20

O 211105Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2005  
INFO AMCONSUL BOMBAY IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL MADRAS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DACCA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE  
USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE  
CINCPAC HONOLULU IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 3944

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, IN, PFOR  
SUBJECT: VIEWS OF JANATA PARTY LEADERS ON ISSUES ESPECIALLY  
IMPORTANT TO THE U.S.

REF: A. NEW DELHI 2095, B. NEW DELH 3455 (NOTAL), C. NEW DELHI  
3725 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: THERE ARE THREE ISSUES ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT TO INDO-US  
RELATIONS: HUMAN RIGHTS, INDO- SOVIET POLICY, AND INDIAN POLICY  
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ON NUCLEAR MATTERS. ON HUMAN RIGHTS THERE IS LIKELY TO BE  
AN IDENTITY OR NEAR IDENTITY OF VIEWS BETWEEN A JANATA PARTY  
GOVT AND THE USG. ALTHOUGH THIS MAY NOT CARRY OVER INTO FOREIGN  
POLICY STATEMENTS. ON THE QUESTION OF INDO-SOVIET POLICY, THE  
LATEST OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THE JANATA PARTY ADVOCATES THE DEVELOP-  
MENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE U.S; USSR, AND PRC WITHIN A FRAMEWORK  
OF NON-ALIGNMENT. HOWEVER, THE INDIVIDUAL VIEWS OF THE LEADERS OF

THE JANATA PARTY REFLECT A MUCH MORE PROCNOUNCED ANTI-COMMUNISM AND SUSPICION OF THE USSR. IT IS IN THE AREA OF NUCLEAR AFFAIRS THAT THE USG IS LIKELY TO ENCOUNTER GREATER DIFFERENCES OF OPINION WITH THE JANATA PARTY, AT LEAST AS INDICATED BY THE STATEMENTS OF ITS VARIOUS LEADERS. ALTHOUGH JANATA PARTY ELDER STATESMAN J.P. NARAYAN HAS ARGUED AGAINST ALL ARMS, CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR OTHERS IN THE PARTY SUCH AS KRISHAN KANT, SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY, A. B. VAJPAYEE, AND N. G. GORAY HAVE MADE NATIONALISTIC CASES FOR INDIA'S OBTAINING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. END SUMMARY.

1. HUMAN RIGHTS: SINCE ALMOST ALL OF THE PRINCIPAL LEADERS OF THE JANATA AND OTHER OPPOSITION PARTIES SUFFERED IMPRISONMENT AND OTHER DEPRIVATIONS DURING THE EMERGENCY AND HAVE UNIFORMLY CONDEMNED MRS. GANDHI'S ABROGATION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES, IT IS CLEAR THAT THEIR POSITION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IS VERY CLOSE TO, IF NOT IDENTICAL WITH THAT OF THE USG. THIS DOES NOT MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT INDIA WILL BE MORE LIKELY TO STAND UP IN INTERNATIONAL FORA ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES.

2. INDO-SOVIET RELATIONS: ON MARCH 8 THE JANTA PARTY UPDATED ITS FOREIGN POLICY PLANK, STRESSING ADHERANCE TO GENUINE NON-ALIGNMENT FREE FROM ATTACHMENT TO ANY SUPER POWER (REF B). MAINTENANCE AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH THE USSR AND THE US AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE PRC WERE CALLED FOR. INDIVIDUAL LEADERS OF THE JANATA PARTY HAVE RECENTLY AND THROUGHOUT THEIR POLITICAL CAREERS EXPRESSED MORE SPECIFIC VIEWS CONCERNING COMMUNISM AND THE USSR. J.P. NARAYAN, ELDERS STATESMAN OF THE JANATA PARTY, HAS CONSISTENTLY BEEN ANTI-COMMUNIST. WHILE AN OPPONENT OF THE OLD SYSTEM OF WESTERN

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COLONIALISM, J.P. HAS BEEN HARSH IN CONDEMNING COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM. SOVIET INTERVENTIONS IN HUNGARY AND TIBET WERE ATTACKED BY HIM.

3. A CORNERSTONE IN INDO-SOVIET RELATIONS IS THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP OF 1971. JANATA LEADERS MORARJI DESAI, L.K. ADVANI, A.B. VAJPAYEE, ASHOKA MEHTA, AND MADHU DANDAVATE WERE ALL CRITICAL OF THE TREATY WHEN IT WAS CONCLUDED. MORE RECENTLY, MORARJI DESAI, CHAIRMAN OF THE JANATA PARTY, WHEN ASKED WHETHER HE WOULD ABROGATE THE TREATY, REPORTEDLY SAID THAT IN THE EVENT OF A JANATA VICTORY THE SOVIETS WOULD PROBABLY WANT IT TO LAPSE. HE LATER SAID THAT WHILE HIS PARTY WOULD NOT DISOWN THE TREATY, HE WAS PERSONALLY OPPOSED TO IT AS CONTRARY TO THE POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT. DESAI REPORTEDLY SAID THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN "ALL RIGHT" HAD INDIA ENTERED THE TREATY WITH A WESTERN NATION (REF C). IN THE CAMPAIGN DESAI ACCUSED THE PRIME MINISTER OF TOEING THE SOVIET LINE IN FOREIGN POLICY.

4. ASHOKA MEHTA, ANOTHER JANATA LEADER WITH ORIGINS IN THE CON-

GRESS-O, HAS CONSISTENTLY BEEN ANTI-COMMUNIST. IN 1968 HE  
RSIGNED FROM MRS. GANDHI'S CABINET IN PROTEST AGAINST GOI POLICY  
CONCERNING SOVIET INTERVENTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

5. THE MAIN CURRENT IN THE VIEWS OF THE JANATA PARTY LEADERS  
FORMERLY IN THE JANA SANGH IS ALSO ANTI-COMMUNIST BUT MORE  
NATINALISTIC. FOR EXAMPLE, ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE RECENTLY DECLARED  
THAT A JANATA PARTY GOVT WOULD MAINTAIN FIRENDLY RELATIONS WITH  
ALL COMMUNIST COUNTRIES BUT WOULD NOT TOLERATE THEIR INTERFERENCE  
IN INDIAN AFFAIRS. IN THE PAST, VAJPAYEE HAS BEEN CRITICAL OF  
MRS. GANDHI'S PRO-SOVIET POSTURE WHILE EXPRESSING ADMIRATION  
FOR DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM IN THE UNITED STATES, WHICH HE CONTRASTED  
WITH CONDITIONS IN THE USSR. (CONT...)

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NEW DELHI 3944

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

REF: A. NEW DELHI 2095, B. NEW DELHI 3455 (NOTAL), C. NEW  
DELHI 3725 (NOTAL)

6. L.K. ADVANI WHO WAS JANA SANGH PRESIDENT IN 1973, STATED AT THAT TIME THAT INDIA WAS TOO DEPENDENT ON THE USSR AND THAT THE TREATY HAD OUTLIVED ITS UTILITY. HE ARGUED THAT THE BIPOLAR WORLD HAD GIVEN PLACE TO A WORLD OF FIVE POWER CENTERS AND THAT INDIA SHOULD DEVELOP AS AN INDEPENDENT POWER CENTER. IN 1974 ADVANI SPOKE AGAINST A SOVIET COLLECTIVE SECURITY UMBRELLA FOR ASIA. HE GENERALLY REJECTED BIG POWER ASSISTANCE AS LEADING TO CONFIDENTIAL

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SPHERES OF ECONOMIC INFLUENCE.

7. CHARAN SINGH, LEADER OF THE BLD COMPONENT OF THE JANATA PARTY, IS ALSO A SELF-DECLARED ANTI-COMMUNIST. HOWEVER, IN 1971 A LARGE GROUP WITHIN THE BLD/GAVE LIMITED SUPPORT TO THE INDO-SOVIET TREATY. HOWEVER, THE GROUP REGRETTED THAT THE TREATY UNNECESSARILY ALIENATED THE U.S.

8. THERE IS NO CLEAR JANATA POSITION ON NUCLEAR POLICY, BUT THE EARLIER PRONOUNCEMENTS OF SEVERAL JANATA LEADERS AND THE POSITIONS OF A LEAST TWO OF THE FORERUNNER PARTIES INDICATE A DISPOSITION TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND IN GENERAL, A MORE NATIONALISTIC LINE ON NUCLEAR AFFAIRS. FORMER CONGRESS-MAN KRISHAN KANT IS PERHAPS THE MOST OUTSPOKEN ADVOCATE OF A NUCLEAR WEAPONS POLICY. HE HAS REPEATEDLY CRITICIZED THE NPT, AND ARGUED THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF SUPER POWER RENOUNCEMENT OF THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, INDIA HAS NO CHOICE BUT TO GO NUCLEAR. HE SAID, "I AM ONE OF THOSE PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS WANTING NUCLEARISATION OF INDIA FOR BOMBS AND EVERYTHING....NO PARLIAMENT, NO GOVERNMENT, NO PRIME MINISTER CAN BIND A NATION FOR GENERATIONS TO COME AND I FEEL THAT AS LONG AS THE WORLD POWERS ARE PLAYING THIS GAME OF PROLIFERATION, AS LONG AS THERE ARE STOCKPILES OF ATOMIC AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THIS COUNTRY WILL HAVE TO GO IN FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF ATOM BOMBS, NUCLEAR BOMBS, HYDROGEN BOMBS AND ALL THAT....TO KEEP OURSELVES STRONG". FORMER JANA SANGH IDEOLOG SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY IS ANOTHER ARTICULATE CHAMPION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE HAS ARGUED THAT THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAN BE USED TO PREVENT THE OUTBREAK OF WAR AND TO SPEED UP NEGOTIATIONS. SWAMY ALSO PROPOSED ATMOSPHERIC TESTS. HE WARNED PARLIAMENT IN 1974 THAT FUTURE INDIAN GOVTS WOULD NOT BE "BOUND BY ALL THE IDIOTIC AND SILLY TREATIES" THE CONGRESS GOVT SIGNED. PSP CHAIRMAN N.G. GORAY ADVOCATED AN INDIAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM AS EARLY AS 1966, AND ARGUED FOR NUCLEAR PARITY WITH CHINA. SENIOR JANATA LEADER A.B. VAJPAYEE WAS ALSO AN OUTSPOKEN ADVOCATE OF A WEAPONS PROGRAM.

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9. A JANA SANGH WORKING COMMITTEE IN 1973 CONCLUDED THAT INDIA SHOULD ENHANCE ITS POWER BY IMPROVING CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS AND DEVELOPING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IN MARCH 1975 AN ALL INDIA JANA SANG RESOLUTION CALLED FOR INCREASING SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN ARMS AND A NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM. ONLY BY OUTCLASSING PAKISTAN AS A MILITARY POWER, ARGUED THE JANA SANGH, "CAN WE BREAK THE VICIOUS CYCLE OF THE ARMS RACE AND GIVE THE INDIAN PENINSULA A JUST AND LASTING PEACE".

10. ON THE OTHER SIDE THE JANATA'S MORAL LEADER, J.P. NARAYAN CERTAIN TO HAVE A CONSIDERABLE VOICE IN THE PARTY'S FUNDAMENTAL POLICY POSITION, IS A PROPONENT OF GANDHIAN NON-VIOLENCE, AND OPPOSED BOTH CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR ARMS. THE SWATANTRA PARTY, ANOTHER JANATA FORERUNNER, OPPOSED ANY PROGRAM FOR DEVELOPING NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

11. THIS MESSAGE HAS ANALYZED ONLY THE ATTITUDES OF COMPONENT ELEMENTS OF THE JANATA PARTY. SHOULD THE JANATA JOIN WITH CONGRESS FOR DEMOCRACY IN A GOVT, THE SITUATION REGARDING ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION WOULD BE MUCH LESS CLEAR. IN LINE WITH THE LEFTIST VIEWS OF MANY OF ITS MEMBERS (BUT NOT JAGJIVAN RAM), THE CFD HAS CALED FOR CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE "SOCIALIST COUNTRIES".  
SCHNEIDER

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## Message Attributes

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**Type:** TE  
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